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ing incident of the discovery of Sir Edward Herbert's body by the perseverance of his little grayhound when he was left for dead on the field at Naseby ; nor would one wish to lose from literature the letter of Lady Russell to her husband, dated September 25, 1682, when she wrote "I know nothing new since you went ; but I know as certainly as I live that I have been for twelve years as passionate a lover as ever woman was, and hope to be so, one twelve years more ; happy still and entirely yours, R. Russell" (p. 41). Less than a year after she was sitting by his side at the bar of the Old Bailey, and when she had left him for the last time, the night before his execution, he said to Burnet, "The bitterness of death is passed."

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

Autobiography and Political Correspondence of Augustus Henry, Third Duke of Grafton. Edited, with an Introductory Memoir, by Sir WILLIAM R. ANSON, Bart, LL.D., Warden of All Souls College, Oxford. (London: John Murray. 1898. Pp. xli, 417.)

THIS autobiography was written in 1804 and 1805, and it deals especially with the period of English history from the Peace of Paris in 1763 to the opening of the French Revolutionary Wars in 1793 and 1795. Augustus Henry, third Duke of Grafton, was born October 9, 1735. He came into public life as a Whig, a supporter of Newcastle and Pitt, upon the eve of the accession of George III. He was prominent and influential in party and public affairs from that time until the coalition ministry of Fox and North in 1783. For several years later he was an interested bystander in politics, in close touch and correspondence with the leading characters of the time. Consequently the story of his mature and official life brings into view one of the most interesting and stormy periods of English history. The volume before us includes the political correspondence of Grafton, covering this period, with Pitt, Conway, Rockingham, Camden, Fox and others. Grafton was not a statesman of the first grade and his name is not a prominent one in English history ; but his noble rank, his sense of public duty, his political associations and correspondence, and the high official positions which he held, make this candid story of his own life, with the valuable correspondence which it reveals, a volume of first importance to the student of history.

Sir William R. Anson, Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, the editor of the letters and memoir, writes a valuable introduction which contains "a short account of the duke's career in relation to the history of parties during his time." This introduction outlines the duke's public career, giving a summary of the great parliamentary measures and policies in which he was engaged. Sir William's task naturally leads him to discuss briefly the established principles of the English Constitution in the eighteenth century. This eighteenth-century constitution "did not involve the withdrawal of the King from all control over the

policy of the country." The editor points out how the first Hanoverian kings lost this control, and how a minister "who knew the processes of corruption held strings by which he could make the House of Commons dance to any tune he pleased;" and how it was that it seemed necessary for Newcastle to "keep a majority" while Pitt used it for schemes of statesmanship. In Grafton's opinion George III. departed from the sound constitutional principles of the Revolution in three respects: "In the exclusion of the Whig families; in the assumption of personal control in the choice and control of his ministers; and in his want of loyalty to those who were his ministers for the time being." Sir William Anson briefly reviews these charges and proceeds to consider Grafton in his relation to parties and ministries under Bute and Grenville and subsequent ministries.

This introduction of the editor gives the best possible brief review of Grafton's career and of the chief public subjects with which his autobiography has to do. Grafton's attitude toward the Rockingham Whigs and their policy, and toward the American policy of Grenville and Townshend; his appointment to office by Pitt, together with Shelburne, Camden and Bristol; their alliance with the Bedford Whigs and its significance; Grafton's own ministry and its conduct toward the Middlesex election and toward American taxation and the East India Company; his four years' service in the office of Lord Privy Seal, from which he resigned in 1774; his career as a member of the opposition under North; Junius's denunciation of Grafton and the latter's relation to Temple, who supplied Junius with material and inspired his invective; Grafton's return to power under Rockingham in 1782;—these events in the career of the duke are all recounted and their significance is indicated in the editorial introduction. At the junction of Fox and North Grafton ends his political career and goes to his country pursuits, which always had for him a strong attraction. "This want of genuine interest in politics," says Sir William Anson, "coupled with his want of clearness in forming and firmness in enforcing his convictions, combine to make him the ineffectual figure which he appears in our history. . . . In later years he became an ally of Fox, from his deepening sense of the horrors of war and his strong dislike to the repressive measures which were thought to be necessary safeguards against the revolutionary propaganda of France. By a strange revolution of feeling and opinion Grafton, who opened his career as an opponent of the peace of Paris, a devoted supporter of the bold imperialism of the elder Pitt, ends his autobiography with regrets that public feeling cannot be brought around to the anti-national, peace-at-any-price policy of Fox, and that the younger Pitt is still encouraged in his resistance to France and in his efforts on behalf of England and of Europe."

Some personal and private aspects of the duke's life are also noticed. His connection with Nancy Parsons was made historical by one of Junius's bitterest invectives, and Grafton "appears to all time as depicted in the tremendous apostrophe: 'Sullen and severe without religion, profligate

without gaiety, you may live like Charles II. without Leing an amiable companion, and for ought I know may die as his father did without the reputation of a martyr. ' ”

These salient features of Sir William Anson's Introduction may serve to indicate the historical scope and importance of these memoirs and letters. Throughout the pages of the autobiography itself the reader finds interesting and suggestive passages that throw fresh light upon the politics of the times as from the inner circle. On the Peace of Paris Grafton speaks like a devoted follower of Pitt: "The preliminaries of that Peace might have become popular if the King of Prussia, our faithful and undaunted ally, had not been abandoned in a manner disgraceful to the honor of this country and unmerited by him, who had never swerved one instant in his steadiness to the alliance." The duke deplors "this melancholy proof of the all-powerful influence of the Crown, though it had not then mounted to that height where we now behold it." The editor calls attention to the doubt that naturally arises over the statement that the influence of the Crown was a more potent factor in politics in 1804 than it had been in 1762. He explains that if the King's wishes in 1804 had greater weight it was due to the accident that George III. was always on the verge of insanity in his later years—a suggestion which may serve to illustrate the purpose of the editor's notes throughout. They are notes for which the reader is constantly thankful.

As Secretary of State under the first Rockingham Ministry Grafton supported a conciliatory policy toward America. But he expresses the opinion that the repeal of the Stamp Act could not have been carried unless accompanied by the Declaratory Bill: "so great was still the desire, both within and without doors, of drawing a revenue from America." He speaks of the lack of authority in the ministry, during Pitt's illness, to cause the dismissal of Townshend for his reactionary and Tory measure during an important juncture in American affairs, though Townshend was acting contrary to the known decision of every member of the cabinet. Nothing short of dismissal could have prevented Townshend's measure. But Grafton did not seem to have been very seriously impressed with the necessity of preventing it. "For," he says, "the right of the mother country to impose taxes on the colonies was then so generally admitted that scarcely any one thought of questioning it, though a few years afterwards it was given up as indefensible by everybody."

Grafton was a devoted admirer and follower of Pitt. He characterizes Pitt's views as "great and noble, worthy of a patriot; but they are too visionary to expect that ambitious and interested men would co-operate in promoting them. Pitt's plan was Utopian, and I will venture to add, that he lived too much out of the world to have a right knowledge of mankind." This was said in some suggestive passages on Pitt's desire to organize a ministry above party, his desire that the "men of the best talents and fortunes and highest rank, taken from every party, should unite in one common cause." "Measures not men" was the dictum of Pitt, and he was ready to stand with all who would stand with

him by the cause of liberty and the national honor upon "true revolution principles."

Grafton seems to have had a poor appreciation of, and but little sympathy with, Rockingham's more modern view of the position of a prime minister. Rockingham insisted upon having the King's commission to form an independent ministry. Grafton was willing to accommodate himself to the royal wish that the minister should submit suggestions and advice which the King might accept, reject, or modify; and he seemed to be willing that the King might govern through his favorites if only Grafton and the true Whigs were his favorites.

Reverting to the controversy with the colonies, it may be said that the letters of Camden to Grafton will be found of special interest to students of that subject. "The issue is now joined," says Camden, in a notable letter of October 4, 1768, "upon the *right* to tax—the most untoward ground of dispute that could have been started; fatal to Great Britain if she miscarries, unprofitable if she succeeds . . . After both sides are half ruined in the contest, we shall at last establish a right which ought never to be executed."

The Spanish efforts to secure Gibraltar and the negotiations for peace in 1782 receive considerable attention. The last chapters are devoted to the Coalition and to the ministry of the younger Pitt. Grafton reports his intimate conversation with Fox while the latter was contemplating his union with North. "I will tell you plainly and without hesitation," says Grafton, "that I dislike your junction with Lord North and his friends extremely. Yet in the present state of the country I do not see what better can be now substituted; as you have unfortunately put an end to the union of the Whigs with whom, and for whom alone, I could ever wish to be in office."

The letters in the chapter from Conway, Camden, Pitt and Fox on the ministry of the younger Pitt will be found full of interest to the student of the time; and the volume closes with this valuable correspondence. The volume is one which takes the reader to the sources. Like the memoirs of Rockingham and Walpole, the autobiography of Grafton presents the personal testimony of a competent and important participant in the events that are described. Though the author of the autobiography was not a great character in history, he was, as Mr. Lecky says, "not destitute of the qualities of a statesman." His recollections bear the stamp of an honest purpose, while his correspondence is invaluable as records of his times. Such material edited by one of the great masters of English history is beyond the reach of adverse criticism by the historical reviewer, and it is to be presumed that such an original and authenticated account of one of the most engaging periods of English history will be gratefully received by all historical students.

JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN.